Don Quixote Between Empires and Republics: Anatoly Vasilyevich Lunacharsky's *Osvobozhdennyy Don Kikhot* / *Don Quijote liberado*, a Dramatic Version of Miguel de Cervantes's *Don Quixote*

A. Robert Lauer
(The University of Oklahoma)

Preamble

As is well known, Empress Catherine II (r. 1762-1796) [House of Ascania] initiated the interest in European literature in the Russian (Romanov) Empire (1721-1917). In 1768, six years after the death of her spouse, Emperor Peter III, Catherine the Great founded the Society for the Translation of Foreign Books under the sponsorship of Grigorii Kozitskii, a state secretary (Dixon 36). This event would epitomize the core of the Russian Enlightenment. Works by François-Marie Arouet (Voltaire), Charles Louis de Secondat, baron de La Brède et de Montesquieu, Torquato Tasso, and Miguel de Cervantes, among others, would now be available in translation. It is thanks to Catherine II that Cervantes's *Don Quixote*, in French, would make its first appearance in Russia. This would serve as an impetus for the first translations into Russian, which were generally derived from the French. As Ludmilla Turkevich (222) indicates, between 1769—with the partial translation of the first 27 chapters of Part One of *Don Quixote* made by Ignati Antonowitsch Teils, *Istoria o slavnom La-Manjskom rytsare Don Kishote* (Saint Petersburg, 1769), based on the French edition of François Filleau de Saint Martin, *Histoire de l'ingénieux seigneur Don Quichotte de la Manche* (Paris, 1678)—and 1940, there were 34 editions of Cervantes's novel. The most important Russian translations were those of Nikolay Osipov (Saint Petersburg, 1791) and Vasily Andreyevich Zhukovsky (Moscow, 1804-1806, with a second edition in 1815) [v. Diego Romero]. Osipov's loose translation, incomplete and derived from the French, shows Don Quixote as a funny madman. Zhukovsky's, which derives from a French edition made by Jean-Pierre Claris de Florian, *Don Quichotte de la Manche* (Paris, 1798-1799) omits whole chapters and is a romantic version which shows Don Quixote as a virtuous gentleman with noble ideals. There are other translations, like Samuil Chaplette (1831), which is similar to Zhukovsky's (see Diego Romero). Konstantin Masalsky's (Saint Petersburg, 1838) would be the first translation derived from the original Spanish—and not French—into Russian. However, it limits itself to a translation of the prologue and the first 27 chapters of Part One of Cervantes's novel (Klotchkov and Dupprett 131). Moreover, Masalsky authored a satirical novel in 1838, *Don Kikhot XIX veka* (*A Nineteenth-Century Don Quixote*), which propounds that the eponymous hero lost his mind not for having read books of chivalry but German Idealist philosophy (Klotchkov and Dupprett 136). The complete translation of *Don Quixote* into Russian would appear only after the 1917-1922 Russian Revolution, during the general secretaryship of Ioseb Besarionis dze Jughashvili, a.k.a. Joseph Stalin. This translation, undertaken by Boris Apollonovich Krzhevsky and Aleksandr Smirnov (Leningrad, 1929-1932, 1932-1934) would be sponsored by the prestigious Academia publishing house. Moreover, in the mid-nineteenth century, and until the beginning of the First World War, there were 39 children's editions of *Don Quixote* (Marinova and Pollard, "Spanish" 222), with a large print-run (between 2,000 to 10,000 copies according to Turkevich 222). There were also several versions and adaptations of the novel like Anatoly Vasilyevich Lunacharsky's 1922 play *Osvobozhdennyy Don Kikhot* (*Don Quijote liberado* in Spanish);[1] Georgii Chulkov's 1935 *Don*

[1] There is no English translation of this play. Three of Anatoly Lunacharsky's dramatic works— *Faust and the City*, *Vasilisa the Wise*, and *The Magi*—were published in English under the title *Three Plays* (Routledge, 1923).

Kikhot: tragikomediia v 4 aktakh (*Don Quixote: A Tragicomedy inf Four Acts*)—with a subsequent second edition (Moskva: Iskusstvo, 1937); and Mikhail Afanasyevich Bulgakov's *Don Kikhot*, written in 1938 and staged in 1940.[2]

It should be noted that prior to 1860, the character of Don Quixote was viewed generally as amusing or odd (Marinova and Pollard, "Spanish" 225). The "serious" version of this fictional persona would be initiated in the Russian Romanov Empire by Ivan Sergeyevich Turgenev's essay *Gamlet i Don-Kikhot* (*Hamlet and Don Quixote*), presented as a public speech in Saint Petersburg on 10 January 1860. As Vsévolod Evguen'evich Bagnó points out, "La interpretación de Iván Turguénev contrastaba con la concepción ya tradicional en la literatura rusa de don Quijote como hombre arcaico y conservador, detractor de las exigencias de los tiempos" (Bagnó, "Aspecto" 92).[3] Turgenev saw in Don Quixote the altruistic spirit of humanity and its desire to establish justice and truth in the world (Turgenev 94). This idealized spirit was in direct contrast with Shakespeare's character Hamlet, who represented, for Turgenev, humanity's egotistical spirit, consisting of analysis, scrutiny, and skepticism (Turgenev 95). It should be noted that these are two extreme human tendencies not to be found together in their totality in any individual: "These are simply extreme expressions of the two opposite tendencies [. . .] In reality one seldom meets with either unalloyed comedy or utter tragedy" (Turgenev 107). Moreover, if anyone could choose between these two types of personalities, one would select Hamlet's over Don Quixote's (Turgenev 97). Turgenev indicates "That life consists in reality of perpetual reconciliation of two perpetually contending forces, two unremittingly opposites" (Turgenev 102). If Turgenev shares ideas with the Romantic Anglo-German tradition with respect to Don Quixote, as Soviet critic Konstantin Nikolayevich Derzhavin noted long ago (Derjavin 217),[4] other late (post-1860) nineteenth-century Russian critics view Don Quixote in a less idealized way. In a more realistic form, the Russian critic Alexei L'vov, in his Saint Petersburg, 1862 *Gamlet i Don-Kikhot i mnenie o nikh I. S. Turgeneva* (*Hamlet and Don Quixote and the Opinion of Them by I. S. Turgenev*), in disagreement with Turgenev, sees Don Quixote as a retrograde madman devoid of any moral or ethical purpose.[5] Russian critic Vladimir Aleksandrovich Karelin, in his St Petersburg, 1866, *Don-kikhotizm i demonizm. Kriticheskiy etyud* (*Don Quixotism and Demonism: A Critical Study*), considers Quixotism to be a pyschological event affecting isolated individuals ("hombres aislados," [qtd. in Derjavin 221]). Likewise, the Symbolist writer Dmitry Merezhkovsky, in *Don Kikhot i Sancho Pansa* (*Don Quixote and Sancho Panza*), published in the Saint Petersburg literary magazine *Severny Vestnik* (*The Northern Messenger*), nos. 8-9, 1889, points out that Don Quixote is a Romantic visionary whose skepticism turns him into a fanatic (qtd. in Derjavin 225). However, Merezhkovsky also sees in Don Quixote a precursor of Jean-Jacques Roussseau: an individual

[2] For a recent study of this work see A. Robert Lauer. Margarita Marinova and Scott Pollard remind us that the Russian public traditionally viewed *Don Quixote* in a tragic and Romantic fashion (*Don Quixote* xi).

[3] Vsévolod Evguen'evich Bagnó also points out that "Cervantes hizo de su héroe un representante del utopismo 'retrospectivo', orientado al pasado" ("Utopismo" 28).

[4] Cf. Anthony Close (46). Moreover, the kind of individualism valued in the Romantic period created in the modern era "solitude, narcissism, and the claims of the self versus the claims of society," as Ian P. Watt points out: "This suggests the self-centeredness of the four figures [Faust, Don Quixote, Don Juan, and Robinson Crusoe]" (iii). Additionally, these solitary beings are incapable of establishing "lasting relations with women" and prefer the company of men (e.g., Mephistopheles, Sancho Panza, Catalinón, and Friday). Hence, "Each pursues his own view of what he should be, raising strong questions about his character as a hero and about the society whose ideals he reflects" (Watt iii).

[5] Konstantin Nikolayevich Derzhavin translates Alexei L'vov's opinions into Spanish: Alonso Quijada [sic] is a "retrógrado" man of "indudable locura," displaying "hartos ejemplos de[l] egoísmo, vanidad, ambición y avidez" (qtd. in Derjavin 220, 221).

capable of harmonizing authentic natural emotions with an active engagement in the external world (Derjavin 226).

This "serious" version became prevalent in subsequent Soviet renditions of this figure, albeit with nuances. Margarita Marinova and Scott Pollard indicate that Cervantes's novel was much appreciated in the 1920-1930 decade. In effect, at the end of 1930 there had been 15 different editions of this work (Marinova and Pollard, "Spanish" 233). Despite its popularity, General Secretary Stalin (o. 1922-1952), an avid reader,[6] saw in the fictitious character of Don Quixote not a transcendental or idealized figure, as proposed by Turgenev, but, simply, a human failure. According to Jorge Latorre, "Stalin no valoraba a don Quijote como mito cultural, sino que lo consideraba más bien un modelo de fracaso por la pérdida del sentido esencial de la vida" (Latorre 122). If that is the case, the General Secretary's perspective would have been in line with the "serious," realistic, and unidealized vision prevalent in the post-Turgenev period. Additionally, there were other nuanced readings of this figure after the 1917 Russian Revolution, as we see in the Post-Romanov Soviet Republican version of Anatoly Vasilyevich Lunacharsky.

Anatoly Vasilyevich Lunacharsky, the People's Commissariat

Anatoly Vasilyevich Lunacharsky (1875-1933) was born in the Poltava Governorate of the Russian Empire in what is now Ukraine. He was a playwright, a literary critic, a revolutionary, and later a Soviet politician. In 1917 he became the People's Commissariat for Education and, after the establishment of the Soviet Union in 1922, the People's Commissar for Enlightenment. As a playwright, Lunacharsky wrote more than a dozen plays, among them *Faust i gorod* (*Faust in the City*) [1918], *Magi* (*The Magi*) [1919], *Oliver Kromvel* (*Oliver Cromwell*) [1920], *Tomas Kampanella* (*Thomas Campanella*) [1922], and *Osvobozhdenny Don Kikhot* (Eng. "Liberated Don Quixote") [1922]. He also wrote several works on literary criticism from a Soviet perspective, like the posthumously published *O literature i iskusstve* (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaya Literatura, 1965), translated into English as *On Literature and Art* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1965), and in Spanish as *Sobre cultura, arte y literatura* (La Habana: Arte y Literatura, 1981). Indeed, the Russian Hispanist Slav N. Gratchev reminds us that "This decade [1920-1930] was marked by a fascination with new forms, ideas, movements, and experimentations" (131). In effect, Lunacharsky was at the forefront of modernity, often anticipating unique trends in playwriting. Inopportunely, he died of a sudden heart attack in France in 1933 on his way to Spain, wherein he would have served as the Spanish Republic's Soviet ambassador, an appointment that the General Secretary of the Soviet Union had bestowed on him. In his honor, on 14 October 1971, an asteroid discovered by Soviet astronomer Lyudmila Chernykh at the Crimean Astrophysical Obervatory was named after him: 2446 Lunacharsky (1971 TS2) [see Fig. 1].

[6] Amelia Gentleman reminds us that the General Secretary was a voracious bibliophile. He read 200-500 pp. daily and owned 20,000 books, which he often marked and commented on.

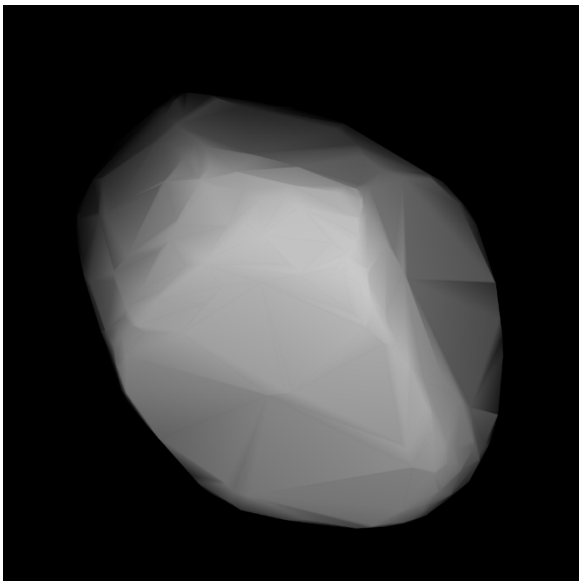


Fig. 1. Asteroid shape model (2446) Lunacharsky.png. By J. Hanuš, J. Ďurech, M. Brož, B. D. Warner (June 2011) Wikimedia Commons, Dec. 2022, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:002446-asteroid_shape_model_(2446)_Lunacharsky.png. Public domain

The Publication and Staging of *Osvobozhdennyĭ Don Kikhot*

The original work by Lunacharsky, *Osvobozhdennyĭ Don Kikhot*, originally containing 147 pp., was published in Moscow by Gos. Izd-vo (Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo [GIZ]) in January 1922, with illustrations by Nikolai Ivanovich Piskarev. It had a print run of 5,000 copies (see Fig. 2). It was later translated into other European and Asian languages. The first one was in German, *Der befreite Don Quichotte: ein Shauspiel* (*The Freed Don Quixote: A Play*) [Berlin: Volksbühnen-erlags- und vertriebs-g. m. b. h., 1925], translated by Isaak Moiseevich. In Spanish it was first translated in Buenos Aires as *Don Quijote libertado. Drama en 10 actos* by Benjamin Abramson in the cultural journal *Claridad* (vol. 1, no. 1, July 1926). Subsequently, Ángel Villatoro and Alejandro Reino published it with the title *Don Quijote libertado. Drama en dos partes, dividido en diez cuadros, con un descanso*. This edition was published in Madrid (Talleres Gráficos Marsiega, 1934) in the series Biblioteca Luz, and in Barcelona (Boreal, July 1936) as part of the series Teatro del Pueblo: Biblioteca Popular del Hogar Proletario 2 (see Fig. 3). In 1945, Ángel Villatoro published it with the slightly modified title *Don Quijote liberado. Drama en diez cuadros con un descanso*, in Colección de Vidas, Hechos e Ideas de Ediciones Tenochtitlan, in México.[7] In 1972, Carlota Hesse translated this play in the series Cuadernos Prácticos 6, with the title *Don Quijote libertado* (Madrid: Editorial Fundamentos), along with the Futurist writer Vladimir Mayakovsky's *Tragediia* (*A Tragedy*), translated by José Hesse with the title *La rebelión de los objetos*. In Chinese it is known as *Jie fang le de Dongjihede* (*Don Quixote Liberated* – or *Emancipated*) in the translation made by Qiubai Qu (Peking: Ren min wen xue chu ban she, 1954), and in Turkish as *Özgürlüğüne kavuşturulan Don Kişot: oyun* (*The Liberated Don Quixote*) in Aziz Çalışlar's translation (İstanbul: Can Yayınları, 1990). As noted previously, there is no English rendition of this play to date.

[7] This is the edition we are using.

Fig. 2. The book cover for the original Russian version of A. V. Lunacharsky, *Osvobozhdennyĭ Don Kikhot*, with illustrations by N. I. Piskarev, Moscow, GIZ [State Publishing House], Jan. 1922, 147 pp., 18x14 cm., 5,000 copies, http://collbooks.com/item/717. Public domain



Fig. 3. The book cover for A. V. Lunacharsky, *D*[*on*] *Quijote libertado*, translated into Spanish by Ángel Villatoro and Alejandro Reino, Barcelona, Boreal, July 1936. Teatro del Pueblo: Biblioteca Popular del Hogar Proletario 2, https://www.todocoleccion.net/libros-antiguos-teatro/d-quijote-libertado-v-lunacharsky-1936-teatro-pueblo~x268726189. Public domain



The play *Osvobozhdennyĭ Don Kikhot* was staged in Moscow at The Comedy Theater (Blt. 1882) on 3 Petrovsky Lane, according to a review in *The New Spectator*, nos. 15-16, 1924, pp. 10-12, qtd. in Lunacharsky, Index 1441 (1922). This venue has been variously known as the Korsh Theater, The Third RSFSR (Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic) Theatre (cf. Lunacharsky, Index 1441), the Moscow Drama Theatre, and, currently, the Theatre of Nations. Moreover, TSGALI *(*The Central State Archive of Literature and Art of the USSR*)*, fund 279, op. 1, item 22, sheet 166, indicates the following: "The translator of the play into Dutch, Alex Wiene, informed Lunacharsky about the planned production of the play in Amsterdam in a letter to the playwright dated April 12, 1927: 'Next winter *Don Quixote Unbound* will be staged at the city theater. The management of Veseenigd Tooneel accepted the play'" (qtd. in Lunacharsky, Unreleased 4 [1927]). Lunacharsky's work was also staged in Berlin at the Volksbühne am Rosa-Luxemburg-Platz Theater on 27 November 1925, under the direction of Fritz Holl and the production of the eminent director and producer Erwin Piscator. The play was a great success and received a huge round of applause from the public, especially for the director and the actors F.

Keisler [sic (Friedrich Kayßler?)] and Alexander Granach (*Life of Art*, no. 50, 15 December 1925) [qtd. in Lunacharsky, Piscator 1 [1927]). The performance also received excellent reviews from famous critics at that time like Alfred Kerr, Max Osborne, Norbert Falk, and others. *Osvobozhdennyĭ Don Kikhot* was later staged at the Piscator-Büne (formerly called Neues Schauspielhaus) on Nollendorfplatz, Berlin, in 1927. *Osvobozhdennyĭ Don Kikhot* was in effect the first Soviet work staged in Japan in 1925, under the direction of Seki Sano, at the Tsukiji Little Theater: "This play marked the beginning of the history of the revolutionary professional theater movement in Japan, which later existed under the name of the Proletarian Theater Union of Japan" (Seki Sano and Yoshi Hijikata, "Through the Seas and Cordons. The Theatrical Movement of Japan and the Soviet Theater," *Worker and Theater*, no. 12, 1934, p. 5, qtd. in Lunacharsky, Unreleased 4 [1927]).

The Fabula of *Don Quijote liberado*

Osvobozhdennyĭ Don Kikhot (*Don Quijote liberado*) is an experimental work that in effect anticipates Bertolt Brecht's plays that form part of what is called epic theater, which this author called *Lehrstücke* (Learning plays), non-Aristotelian and, later, dialectical theater. Essentially, the most important Brechtian works that one associates with the so-called epic theater (a term coined by Erwin Piscator) were developed after Lunacharsky's 1922 *Osvobozhdennyĭ Don Kikhot*.[8] The 147 pp. *Osvobozhdennyĭ Don Kikhot* consists of 10 scenes (*kartina* in Russian, a term that suggests a painting, an image, and also a moving picture). Three of these (numbered) *kartiny* are external and take place in the following spaces: a landscape (*kartina* 1), a garden in the Duke's castle (*kartina* 4), and a cemetery (*kartina* 9). The remaining *kartiny* are internal and are as follows: a study in the Duke's castle (*kartina* 2), a grand salon in the Duke's castle (*kartiny* 3 and 6), a prison cell (*kartiny* 5 and 8), and Don Quixote's study (*kartiny* 7 and 10). There are 27 named or titled *dramatis personae*, as well as sundry numerically unspecified *personae* (ladies, gentlemen, castle officials [translated as *palatinos*], Blacks [*negros*], soldiers, etc.).[9] These individuals belong to various social classes: the high aristocracy (dukes, counts); a "middle class" (landholders [*terratenientes*], medical doctors, petty nobles [*hidalgos*], university students, and castle officials [*palatinos*]); working people (blacksmiths, soldiers, captains, pages, jailers, majordomos, and secretaries); and even a disenfranchised member (a Gipsy bandit who later adjusts to the Revolution). There are no ecclesiastical figures.[10] Now, since Lunacharsky's play is freely based on Cervantes's *Don Quixote* (*DQ*), allusions are made to sundry chapters and episodes from that novel: five deriving from Part One of *DQ*, and 11 from Part Two. These are as follows: 1.1 (the books of chivalry), 1.17 (Maritornes offers wine to Sancho Panza [SP]), 1.22 (the galley slaves), 1.23 (the apparent theft of Sancho Panza's ass), and 1.43 (Maritornes ties Don Quixote's hand);

[8] Works like *Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny* (1927-1929), *Die Dreigroschenoper* (1928), *Der gute Mensch von Sezuan* (1930), *Leben des Galilei* (1938-1939), *Mutter Courage und ihre Kinder* (1939), *Der kaukasische Kreidekreis* (1944), and others.

[9] Notable for its absence is the figure of Aldonza Lorenzo/Dulcinea. Ludmilla Turkevich (224-25) reminds us that since the nineteenth century, Dulcinea del Toboso and Sancho Panza were of Little interest for the Russian audiences. The public's main interest was on the figure of Don Quixote.

[10] Turkevich points out that "It is true that the Marxists have held no special brief against the Roman Catholic Church *per se*. They have been primarily concerned with the Orthodox Church, and the Roman Church, if anything, represents in Russian eyes a persecuted minority" (225-26). Curiously, Vadim Kurchevsky's 1987 animated film, created during the *Perestroika* (1985-1991), shows a clergyman in a nefarious and mocking fashion, associated always with the dukes (the ruling class) [13:11].

2.5 (the promise of the Island of Barataria), 2.30-57 (the castle of the dukes), 2.36-39 (Countess Trifaldi, Malambruno), 2.46 (a page plays the role of Dulcinea), 2.47 (Dr. Pedro Recio de Tirtefuera and the announcement of an imminent attack on Barataria), 2.58 (Sancho Panza expresses interest in Altisidora), 2.64 (the Knight of the White Moon), 2.67 (Don Quixote appears to have a certain interest in Altisidora), 2.69 (the apparent death and resurrection of Altisidora), 2.70 (Don Quixote rejects Altisidora), and 2.73-74 (Don Quixote's physical decline before dying). Curiously, the iconic episode of the windmills (1.8), present in other Russian renditions, including ballet (e.g., the Marius Petipa and Ludwig Minkus *Don Quixote Ballet* performed by the Mariinsky Ballet and the Bolshoi Ballet), is absent in this play. Please see the *fabula* of Lunacharsky's *Don Quijote liberado* in Table 1.

Kartiny:	Dramatic spaces & props:	*Dramatis personae*:	*Fabula*:	Links with Cervantes's *DQ*:
1	Landscape. Blue sky.	Four soldiers, a captain, three prisoners (Don Baltasar de Salas, Rodrigo Paz, and Castro Bermellón [Luis Bellamuda]); Don Quixote (DQ) and Sancho Panza (SP).	A military Captain goes to a tavern and leaves his soldiers and their three prisoners alone. The soldiers talk about an upheaval. DQ appears and wants to know why the three prisoners have been arrested and requests their freedom. SP unties the prisoners while DQ fights with the soldiers, who will now take DQ and SP to the Duke's castle.	*DQ*: 1.22, 1.23.
2	A study in the Duke's castle.	The Duke, Count Mauricio de Besconsina, Dr. Pappo del Barbo, the secretary of the Duke, and DQ.	The Duke is happy to meet DQ, who would be the cure for boredom. All will have fun with him. Count Mauricio defends power; DQ justice.	*DQ*: 2.30-57, 2.46, 2.47.
3	A grand salon in the Duke's castle.	SP, two pages, Maribel, Estrella, the Duchess, Count Mauricio, the Duke, DQ, Dr. Pappo del Barbo, the ambassador of Sheikh Mohamed the African, Sheikh Mohamed, two trumpeters, two timbale players, a	The Duke pretends that Maribel, a widowed lady in the castle, is being pursued by Sheikh Mohamed. DQ fights with a black African but is defeated. Maribel begs DQ to watch over her room that night. Estrella, who previously had been in a convent in France, and the	*DQ*: 2.36-39, 2.64.

		Black man, the Duke's majordomo, and Voices.	entire ducal court are in love with Count Mauricio.	
4	A garden in the Duke's castle.	DQ, Maribel, Estrella, the Duke, the Duchess, Dr. Pappo del Barbo, Count Mauricio, ladies, castle officials, etc.	DQ keeps watch over Maribel's room. Maribel asks him for his hand to kiss it but ties him up. Estrella unties him and recommends that he leave the castle. DQ is fed up with the Duke and challenges him. DQ is taken into custody as he blesses Estrella.	*DQ*: 1.43.
5	A prison cell. Trumpets, timbales, harquebuses.	DQ, SP, a jailer, a shepherd who sings sad music, Estrella, Don Baltasar de Salas, revolutionaries.	SP informs the jailer that he follows DQ on account of his kindness and not for personal gain. Estrella brings fruits and sees DQ as a father figure. SP feels attraction for her, as does DQ. There is a tumult and shouting. Don Baltasar frees DQ, who asks him not to be violent. Don Baltasar laughs.	*DQ*: 2.5, 2.67, 2.58, 2.70.
6	Similar to *kartina* no. 3: A grand salon in the Duke's castle, now the headquarters for the revolutionaries. Weapons.	Don Baltasar de Salas, Rodrigo Paz, Red Soldiers 1 and 2, Castro Bermellón, Dr. Pappo del Barbo, DQ.	Don Baltasar and Rodrigo Paz are now in control. Red Soldier 1 requests horses to attack the Duke's army. Bermellón shows himself to be courageous. Terror is necessary, but DQ is opposed to violence in general.	*DQ*: 2.47.
7	DQ's study. Books, a pallet, a table, and chairs.	SP, DQ, Estrella, Dr. Pappo del Barbo.	SP thinks he will be named governor now that the Revolution has triumphed, for he is a man of the people. Estrella and Dr. Pappo ask DQ to give a 'poison' to Count Mauricio that will make him sleep for three days. DQ claims to be a man of noble principles.	*DQ*: 1.1, 2.5.

8	Similar to *kartina* no. 5: A prison cell.	Count Mauricio, a jailer, the Duke and the Duchess, DQ.	The Duke considers dictating his crimes for propaganda aims to save himself; Count Mauricio considers fleeing, marrying Estrella, and arming the counter-revolution from Provence. He drinks the 'poison.'	Ø
9	A cemetery.	DQ, SP, Estrella, Count Mauricio, Dr. Pappo del Barbo, Red Soldiers 3 and 4.	DQ, SP, and Estrella go to the cemetery to get Count Mauricio out of his tomb. The first thing Count Mauricio asks for is wine. Dr. Pappo brings *Laissez-passer* documents for all. The Red Soldiers 3 and 4 enter and take DQ and SP away.	*DQ*: 1.17, 2.69.
10	Similar to *kartina* no. 7: DQ's study.	DQ, SP, Don Baltasar de Salas, Red Soldier 3.	Don Baltasar tells DQ that Count Mauricio is moving to the Levante region and has taken several cities. "Vence por el terror." DQ cannot live among the revolutionaries. Don Baltasar tells him that when the Revolution triumphs he will be liberated and will form part of society again. SP wants to be governor.	*DQ*: 2.25, 2.73-74.

Table 1. *Fabula* of Lunacharsky's *Don Quijote liberado*

An Actantial Model of *Don Quijote liberado*

To analyze comprehensively *Don Quijote liberado*, we propose the following actantial model, inspired partly on ideas suggested by Vladimir Propp, Étienne Souriau Algirdas Julien Greimas, and Tzvetan Todorov. In essence, we envision eight dramatic actants which have nominal (N), adjectival (A), and verbal (V) functions in what is in effect a grammatical model. The actants are as follows: 1) the Agentive Actant (AgA) or thematic (initiating) force; 2) the Disjunctive Actant (DiA), who opposes AgA; 3) the Accusative Actant (AcA) or object of desire or of contention disputed by AgA and DiA; 4) the Dative Actant (DaA), a final recipient or beneficiary of the AcA; 5) the Circumstantial Actant (CiA) which functions as arbiter between AgA and DiA; 6) the Supplementary Circumstantial Actant (SCA), which serves as a superior or alternative force to the CiA; 7) the Comitative Actants (CoA) which mirror and assist the other actants; and 8) the Poly-Comitative Actant(s) [PCA], which assist more than one actant

simultaneously. Moreover, the actants (whose function is to propel the action) may be physical (*dramatis personae*) or metaphysical (objects or forces unseen, as is often the case with the SCA [i.e., God, deities, Fate], and at times the AcA [a crown, a fulfillment, a vindication]). An actantial model, which differs from a basic storyline or *fabula*, is meant to give us an objective (scientific, structural) reading of a text in a carefully emploted manner or *syuzhet*. Please consult Table 2 to view the application of the actantial model to the play in question.

Comitative Actants (CoA): N: Soldiers, jailer, Rodrigo Paz, Castro Bermellón. A: obedient. V: they do their iduty.	Supplementary Circumstantial Actant (SCA): N: A historical nodal point. A: complete. V: it propels a social change. Circumstantial Actant (CiA): N: Baltasar de Salas. A: rational. V: he coordinates the Revolution.	Comitative Actants (CoA): N: The Duke and the Duchess, Dr. Pappo del Barbo, and the castle officers. A: counterrevolutionary. V: They support DiA's status quo.
Agentive Actant (AgA): N: Don Quixote. A: altruistic, inefficient, individualistic. V: he fights for the common good.	Acusative Actant (AcA): N: Power, love, truth, and justice. A: essential. V: to be fought over.	Disjunctive Actant (DiA): N: Count Mauricio de Besconsina. A: egoistic, efficient, classist. V: "Vence por el terror."
Poly-comitative Actant (PCA): N: Sancho Panza. A: hopeful, flexible. V: he adjusts to circumstances.	Dative Actant (DaA): N: A postrevolutionary society. A: eager. V: awaits a social change.	Poly-comitative Actants (PCA): N: Estrella and Maribel. A: fragile, vulnerable, inconstant. V: they fluctuate between AgA and DiA.

Table 2. Actantial model of *Don Quijote liberado*

The actantial model of Lunacharsky's text shows the following. The initiating or leading (agentive) actant (AgA) of this work is Don Quixote, an individualistic, altruistic, but inept landholder who fights, sometimes partially successfully, oftentimes not, for the common good. Hence, he attempts to liberate revolutionaries in *kartina* one, and, in *kartina* nine, counterrevolutionaries. His opponent or competitor (the disjunctive actant [DiA]) is the egoistic, efficient, and classist Count Mauricio de Besconsina, who "vence por el terror" in *kartina* 10 (Lunacharsky, *Quijote* 105).[11] Both of them fight for power (to do good or evil), love (ideal or real), truth (general or particular), and justice (altruistic or egoistic). These values, judged from their respective points of view, constitute the object of interest or desire of both (the accusative actant [AcA]). The helpers (comitative actants [CoA]) of the disjunctive actant (DiA) are the Duke, the Duchess, and their castle officials, who are seen as the counterrevolutionaries who back the status quo defended by the Count of Besconsina. Don Quixote's poly-comitative actants (PCA),

[11] "Vencí por el terror" in the Carlota Hesse translation (124).

the ladies Estrella and Maribel, are shown as fragile, vulnerable, and inconstant, as they fluctuate between the agentive actant Don Quixote (AgA) and the disjunctive one, Count Mauricio (DiA). Sancho Panza is, like Estrella and Maribel, also a poly-comitative actant or helper (PCA), hopeful and flexible, who adjusts to the circumstances of the moment. Hence, he fluctuates between Don Quixote (AgA), whom he holds dear, the Duke and Duchess (CoA), whom he respects, and Don Baltasar de Salas (CiA), whom he admires. This last actant is a circumstantial one (CiA) and serves as an arbiter or judge. Baltasar de Salas is rational and learned, and he coordinates but does not lead the Revolution for the common good. As a circumstantial actant, Baltasar has the support of sundry comitative actants (CoA) like the four Red Soldiers, a jailer, the blacksmith Rodrigo Paz, who is now the leader of the Revolution, and the lumpen Castro Bermellón, who joins it. Society would be the eager dative actant (DaA) which waits for a post-revolutionary social change. Since the work, published in January 1922, is intentionally inconclusive (the USSR was established on 30 December 1922), there is a supplementary circumstantial actant (SCA) superior to the circumstantial one (Don Baltasar de Salas [CiA]): this is the nodal historical point—independent of individual particular agency—that has reached its zenith in order to propel a social change. It is suggested, therefore, that the revolutionary victory is inevitable.

Don Quixote during and after the Russian Silver Age

The critic Slav N. Gratchev holds forth that during the 1920–1930-decade, Russian intellectuals view the figure of Don Quixote first with skepticism and later with admiration (131). In effect, Don Quixote becomes a symbol of the New Prometheus or New Soviet Man: someone ready to sacrifice his life for the common good. The playwright and theater practitioner Nikolai Evreinov (1879-1953), for example, sees in Don Quixote a man who becomes mad for no reason and attempts to save the world (Gratchev 133). Konstantin Lipskerov (1889-1954), a poet and artist of the Russian Silver Age (1890-1920) regards Don Quixote as a romantic (idealist) and not as a practical (realist) individual like Sancho Panza (Gratchev 135). Yuly Aykhendald (1872-1928), a literary critic and translator of Arthur Schopenhauer into Russian distinguishes Don Quixote as a man of pure ideals and a protagonist of hope (Gratchev 136). The poet, diplomat, and military minister Larissa Reissner (1895-1926), the "Olympian goddess" and "Pallas [Athena] of the revolution" in Leon Trotsky's words (Trotsky), admires the idealism of Don Quixote, who is not pragmatic and thus perceives the real world as the creation of evil enchanters (Gratchev 138). Poet, playwright, translator, critic, historian, and leading member of the Symbolist movement in Russia Valery Bryusov (1873-1924) thinks that Don Quixote divides the world into two groups: the romantics and the pragmatists (Gratchev 139). Mikhail Gershenzon (1869-1925), a literary critic, philosopher and translator, envisages Don Quixote as a figure of selfless service, sacrifice, and devotion to an external ideal (Gratchev 142); moreover, he respects his fortitude, wisdom, wholesome spirit, and iron will (Gratchev 143). Finally, Anatoly Vasilyevich Lunacharsky (1875-1933), playwright, writer, and the first People's Commissariat for Education of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (1917-1922) indicates that the romantic heroism of Don Quixote can only manifest itself in the new Soviet state. Hence, Don Quixote and Sancho Panza are the practitioners of the future (Gratchev 140) and an inspiration for communism (Gratchev 142).

After the establishment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in 1922 (until 1991), and specifically at the beginning of the 1930s, Socialist Realism was the official style to represent dramatic works in the theaters in Moscow. Martha Bradshaw describes its working principle as follows: "Naturalism is what really happened in life [. . .] Formalism is what never happened and could never happen in life [. . .] Realism is that which could happen in life [. . .] Socialist realism

is that which not only could happen in life but that which must without fail be useful in socialist construction" (57-58). Works based on classical texts like *Don Quixote*, hence, had to undergo a process of re-accentuation (cf. Marinova and Pollard, "Spanish" 225) to make them intelligible to a Soviet audience. As the Russian thinker and critic Dmitry Sergeyevich Merezhkovsky had pointed out earlier, "el porvenir pertenecerá a los héroes verdaderos que puedan coordinar su sentimiento con la razón, su fe con el conocimiento exacto, sus aspiraciones renovadoras con la tranquila conciencia de sus probabilidades" (qtd. in Derjavin 226).

Lunacharsky's new and original adjustment to Cervantes's *Don Quixote* takes into consideration the prevailing ideas of his epoch, which philosopher and social scientist Friedrich Engels had elaborated in *Socialisme utopique et Socialisme scientifique* (Paris, 1880) [*Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*]. If the eighteenth century, on the basis of Sir Francis Bacon and John Locke, had valued the metaphysical method of thinking, which according to Engels is static and evaluates each detail in an isolated manner, without examining connections, causes, or effects, the nineteenth century revises the Pre-Socratic materialist philosophy of Heraclitus of Ephesus, who perceived the world in a perennial state of fluidity, "constantly changing, constantly coming into being and passing away" (Engels 616). If this early form of materialism considered the dynamic process of nature in an irrational and violent form, the modern, dialectic concept of materialism, which derives from Charles Robert Darwin and Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, tries to discover the laws that evince material changes (Engels 620), whether advancing or regressing (Engels 619). Moreover, this form of dialectical materialism applied the idealistic Hegelian method to the natural (material) world and, subsequently, to its cultural manifestations: "for the first time the whole world, natural, historical, intellectual, is represented as a process, i.e., as in constant motion, change, transformation, development" (Engels 619). This method was used in economics to explain changes occasioned by social struggles (Engels 621). In 1938, Stalin extended this (natural) scientific process to the social sciences; hence, a historical dialectical materialism was used to study society and its history in an allegedly rational and scientific manner. As the General Secretary stated, "Marx and Engels took from the Hegelian dialectics only its 'rational kernel,' casting aside its idealistic shell, and developed it further so as to lend it a modern scientific form" (Stalin 5). Likewise, Stalin formulated that any change manifests itself as the result of a constant flux that, upon reaching a nodal point, changes a (quantitative) process into a (new) qualitative one. Hence, the dialectical method evolves in a perennial fashion: "The dialectical method therefore holds that the process of development should be understood not as a movement in a circle, not as a simple repetition of what has already occurred, but as an onward and upward movement, as a transition from an old qualitative state to a new qualitative state, as a development from the simple to the complex, from the lower to the higher" (Stalin 9).

Consequently, the 1930s Soviet dialectical realism evolved from Naturalism (what happened) and Formalism (what cannot happen) to Realism (what can happen) to Socialist Realism (what can and must happen in a social construction). Lunacharsky's Don Kikhot, hence, cannot repeat (in a cyclical fashion) what Cervantes had proposed for Don Quixote (an individual who isolates himself from the real [material] world and later returns to it before dying). Nor can he impose a post-Renaissance vision in which an individual becomes a symbol (e.g., a "Messianic" one in Bagnó's words ["Aspecto" 91]), as the Romantic movement would propose. But he certainly can show what truly happened (an individual whose readings isolate him from the social world in which he lives [his *circunstancia*, to use José Ortega y Gasset's term (18)]) and propose what ought to have happened (an idealistic individual who in the end inspires pragmatic peoples to envision a more humane world which he himself was unable to generate). In effect we have an

Aufhebung or sublation which cancels an archaic form of consciousness (privileged and egoistic aristocratic values), preserves what might be salvageable from it (the altruistic and humanistic [chivalrous] Quixotic spirit), incorporates it along newer (material, popular, revolutionary) forms of consciousness, and transcends it historically (dialectically) into a yet unknown but inevitable and universal (i.e., republican [Soviet-style]) future. That in sum is Anatoly Vasilyevich Lunacharsky's thesis in *Osvobozhdennyĭ Don Kikhot*.

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